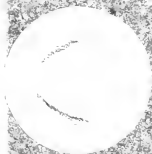


E

668

B65





Class E 668

Book . E 65

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR,

AT HAGERSTOWN, MD., ON 12th JULY, 1865,

Exposing the alliance of the American Secretary of State with
Louis Napoleon to overthrow the Monroe Doctrine and
establish a despotism on this Continent.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I join heartily in thanks to the Almighty for the success which it has graciously pleased Him to give our efforts in maintaining the Government of our fathers, and I share fully in the gratitude and affection which swells the nation's heart towards all the gallant men who have been His instruments in this great work. I am more especially grateful to the soldiers of Maryland, some of whom we have met here to grasp by the hand and to welcome home. They have been our special representatives in those great and ever-memorable fields, some of which are so close about us, on which the battles which have decided our fate and preserved our Government and liberties have been fought. Well may we be proud of our share in these great struggles, when we can say, with truth, that on all these trying occasions the men of Maryland have nobly performed their duty. The empty sleeves, the shattered limbs, the pallid faces here to-day, show that our blood has flowed freely in this cause. And then our absent ones, some of whom still languish in hospitals, but how many more, whose sufferings are over, sleep beneath the sod of those fields already so renowned in the world's history! We will never forget them, and their absence here to-day speaks yet more eloquently to our hearts of the sacrifices our brethren have made for us and our children, and the cause of free government, than the scars and shattered limbs of the bronzed veterans who surround us. Terrible indeed have been the conflicts through which they have gone. It has been a contest in which the prowess, courage, and talent of men—all nurtured by our free institutions—have been tried upon each other. It has been "*Greek meeting Greek*," with the most formidable weapons ever invented, and hence the world never witnessed such combats, and the European world has looked on with mingled fear and astonishment. Never before was there such destruction of life—so many prolonged and indecisive battles. Never before so great a military force raised, or such enormous outlays of money, without subjecting to military despotism the people by whom they were raised.

This fact, which the Count de Montalembert says more surprises Europe than even our military operations, surprises no one here, where all feel

and know that our soldiers were only our best citizens, struggling to preserve our institutions and to put down usurpation, and that they would have to change their entire natures before they could be perverted by any military leader and made instruments to destroy that which they undertook at such sacrifices to preserve. The fact that our veterans are returning to their homes to pursue their more congenial pursuits, after having successfully resisted the attempt to subvert their Government; having maintained the Federal Union as it was, its basis unaltered in any respect, and our Federal Constitution unchanged, save in the amendment which forbids slavery within the Union; whilst it is taken as a matter of course here, because we know that any other result would be impossible, must revolutionize European opinion as to the instability of the Federal republican system. In the end, therefore, our own country will not alone be indebted for its freedom to the valor and patriotism of the noble band we greet here to-day with thanks and blessings. I feel how feeble any words are to express the deep feeling which not only pervades this assembly, but which lives in the hearts and speaks in the eyes of every lover of the human family throughout this world, towards any man who has borne arms in this cause for the love of it. To their unexampled bravery, to their patient labor, to their endurance of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, to their sufferings from wounds and disease, do we owe it, under God's providence, that we have not now, and possibly in perpetuity, a divided and distracted country, and, consequent thereon, the introduction here of that accursed European system of mercenary standing armies, in whose presence all liberty vanishes like mist. Long may the survivors of this noble band live to enjoy the honors they are entitled to from the people for their services, and that choicest of all pleasures to such men—to witness the prosperity, tranquility and happiness they have secured to their countrymen. Perhaps there are some of them, some of the younger sort, who would like also the smiles of their fair countrywomen, and might even prefer to see themselves mirrored in a pair of soft eyes to obtaining the homage of all the rest of us. That may seem to be irrational to some, but I confess that a man must be older than I am to be astonished at the preference, especially when the lasses of Washington, our famous highland beauties, are before him.

After the display of such irresistible power by the American people, with our well-known disposition to deal justly with all nations, we ought to expect to enjoy a long peace. No foreign nation would wantonly provoke a conflict with us, for, however powerful, it cannot hope for any but a disastrous issue; and yet, but for my confidence in the courage and prudence of President Johnson, I should have serious apprehensions of a war with France, growing out of the ill-judged course hitherto adopted by our foreign department in relation to the intervention of France in Mexico. No one acquainted with the subject can have failed to observe that this department of our Government has hitherto pursued, and *continues to pursue*, a course in this matter strangely at variance with the feelings of our people and with the recognized principles upon which our Government has uniformly acted.

The present ruler of France has exhibited, throughout our late struggle for existence, a most unfriendly spirit, and availed himself of our difficulties to invade our sister republic of Mexico, subvert her government, and establish there a military despotism, under the nominal head of an Austrian prince. Would the crowned heads of Europe submit quietly to similar intervention on our part to establish the republican system in Hungary, Italy, or any other European country where revolutionary movements have arisen from time to time? We know that such an act

on our part would combine every one of them against us as an aggressor, seeking to overthrow their regal governments—the political system of that continent. Is the invasion of Mexico by France, in the interests of absolutism, any less an act of hostility towards the United States and a war on the republican system of this? Certainly not. The proposition is too obvious to require argument or authority to support it. This is the gist of the Monroe doctrine, as the manifesto made to preserve ourselves against this mode of subverting our popular institutions has been called, ever since President Monroe declared his purpose to resist such design when broached by the Holy Alliance in 1823. He states the proposition to which I have alluded in this language: "The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, *to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.*" Again, in 1824, he said: "It is impossible for the European governments to interfere in their concerns, (the affairs of our neighbors,) especially in those alluded to, (their systems of government,) which are vital, without affecting us; *indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear to be equally applicable to us.*" Could language be framed more appropriate to portray the designs of the French Government in their intervention in Mexico, and the feelings of our people in regard to it?—and the representatives of the people, in the session before the last, adopted a declaration of the same purport, even at the risk of bringing French recognition and open alliance to the rebels whilst our contest was at the highest. There is no blinking the fact, that the French war on Mexico was the Emperor's contingent in aid of the rebellion against free government, and the rebellion has not ended whilst French bayonets maintain a despotism there.

Do I propose, then, to send our veterans to put it down at once? I do not. I believe it will not be necessary. But it is necessary, to prevent war, that the French Emperor should be no longer deceived as to the feelings of the American people in regard to his position there. We need not say what we are able to do. He has seen that we are able to hold the territory which our fathers bequeathed us. We should make it manifest also, in a becoming manner, that we mean to maintain the Government which they framed for us, and the principles which they asserted as necessary to preserve it—asserted, too, when they were comparatively a feeble power, in defiance of the allied powers of the whole continent of Europe.

The course of our Foreign Secretary and War Secretary will warrant the French Emperor in asserting that the policy he has adopted to engraft French power on the institutions of this continent, which are cut down to make a stock for its support, is approved by our Government. See how both our State and War Departments have been subordinated to Napoleon's policy. Our House of Representatives re-echoed the voice of the Convention that nominated Lincoln and Johnson as candidates, pledged, if elected to the Presidency, to reassert and maintain, even in the midst of the rebellion, the Monroe doctrine, as a protest against the invasion of France to overthrow the republican system established as that of our continent, taken from the type of that of the United States. The State Department

instantly dispatched a disclaimer to the Emperor of the French, through our minister at Paris, containing the assurance that the opinion of the House was not that of the Government, and giving him to understand that the Executive would not co-operate with the House. The War Office confirmed this intimation of the State Department immediately, by its action. An order was entered against the exportation of arms, which were essential to enable the Mexicans to defend themselves, while the French were allowed forage and transportation, which were all they wanted. We had an equal right to stop the means of supply, which were as essential to maintain the Emperor's army in Mexico, as to stop the export of arms, lest they might fall into the hands of the invaded Republicans, who, thus disarmed, were compelled to submit to an enemy that came accoutred with the best the armories of Europe could furnish. The Mexicans sought, and might have obtained but for this order, the arms exported from Europe and rejected by our army as not equal to the Springfield gun, but our War Secretary, in complaisance to France, played the part of the dog in the manger, and denied the contractors and merchants the right to re-export what he had refused to receive. This interdiction was continued even to the last of June, for so late were the refuse arms purchased by the Mexican agents in San Francisco withheld, although President Johnson ordered its removal within one week after his accession to power. Nevertheless, the revocation was not communicated to our officers in that quarter, and hence the Mexican arms were seized, and continue so to be held even now.

But the Emperor of the French is not left to infer the acquiescence of our Government in his policy in reference to this continent from even these pregnant facts. He has it coupled with a justification in the handwriting of our Minister, under the authority of our Secretary of State. Louis Napoleon's Minister of State, M. Rouher, read to the French *Legislative body* this extract from an official communication of our Minister, Mr. Bigelow, containing an assurance of our submission to the establishment of his Mexican Empire, with a view to disarm opposition to it from the representatives of the French people, and to quiet their discontents. The *Moniteur*, the Government official paper of France, reports Mr. Bigelow's words thus: "We (our Government) do not like of course to see a monarchy established in Mexico; we prefer, of course, republican institutions; but we respect the will of the people; we can understand how Mexico, that was for a long time ruled by a monarchical government, would like to return to that form of government, and we would not go to war for the sake of a form of government."*

*NOTE.—The following reply of Mr. Seward to this statement appeared as a despatch to the Associated Press:

"THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN OUR MINISTER AT PARIS AND THE FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RELATING TO MEXICO.

WASHINGTON, July 20.—Mr. Bigelow, our Minister at Paris, so soon as he saw the version which had been given by M. Rouher, Secretary of State, in France to a conversation which had previously taken place between Mr. Bigelow and M. Bruyn de L'Huys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning Mexico, addressed a note to that gentleman denying the statements made by M. Rouher. M. Bruyn de L'Huys answered, admitting Mr. Bigelow's statement to be correct, and the statement of M. Rouher incorrect. This correspondence has been long since received at the State Department, and in due time will be submitted to Congress."

Why is not Mr. Bigelow's correction of Mr. Rouher's statement, referred to as long since in the Department, given the public now. The correspondence of the Department with France communicated to Congress at its last session, is not yet published, I believe. The course of events will, no doubt, render Mr. Bigelow's correction (which is probably not on a very material point) of very little importance this time next year.

Now, here is not only acquiescence against our inclinations to the conspiracy which seeks the surrender of Mexico as the prey of the French and Austrian potentates, but assigns as reasons for it falsehoods, which are made to give it the appearance of a submission to an honest, democratic principle. While all the world knows that republican institutions were put down in Mexico by French bayonets, neither the party of Miramon nor Juarez, at war for the Presidency, consenting to surrender their form of government, our American Minister is made to say that they were put down by the people themselves! And yielding submission to this flagrant act of war upon the Mexican Republic, and our own, of which it was the offspring, we are told is but respect to the will of the people! And thus it is argued that the Mexican people, having consented to relinquish their independence to the mandate of a foreign usurper, the people of the United States must abandon the time-honored policy of our fathers, which the public opinion of liberal Europe so sanctioned as to compel even the Holy Alliance to respect it.

Our Minister in Paris next gives the assurance to the French Emperor and the legislative body, "*That we (speaking for our Administration) can understand how Mexico, that was for a long time ruled by a monarchical government, would like to return to that form of government.*" Might not the representative of our country at the French or English Court apply the same remark with equal truth to the people of this country as to the people of Mexico? If the French usurper should conquer us and set a Hapsburg over us as a Viceroy, doubtless some sycophant to ambition and power among us would give the world to understand how the American people, as well as the Mexicans, as they were for a long time ruled by a monarchical government, would like to return to that form of government! It would be just as true of the first as the last.

The missive to France having performed its function for the Emperor there, the State Department employs its organ, the *New York Times*, to subserve the purposes of the usurper and maker of thrones here, by advocating his cause before the American people. Three columns and a-half of that journal, conducted by Weed and Raymond, well-fed favorites from the drippings of the State and War Offices, are employed in arguing away the Monroe doctrine, and asserting the lawfulness and justice of the policy of the invader of Mexico. The article is ushered in by an editorial approval, and has the ear-mark of its *Cabinet origin*, by putting in the salvo which makes a feature in our Minister, Mr. Bigelow's communication to Napoleon's Minister of State, M. Rouher, as read by him to the legislative body. It has the very tone of our Secretary. It has his diplomatic *cue* precisely as he gave it to Mr. Bigelow. "Of course (says the *Times* in its colonnade article) the people of the United States would prefer to see Mexico flourish under the republican institutions which sealed their independence in 1808. But it must be admitted that the experience of republicanism in Mexico has not been, on the whole, flattering. Had the case been otherwise, the occasion would never have arisen for the European intervention of 1861." From this position everything done by France in regard to Mexico is vindicated, and the violation of the Monroe doctrine, sanctioned by so many years of tacit admission, is justified. The article insists that as Juarez did not pay the debts due the subjects of France, had "no material means of honoring his signature, in which case he represented only an illusory or inadequate government; or he did not mean to honor it, in which case it was proper to punish. Upon this, the European governments broke relations with him and united to obtain redress. Such, in a few words, was the origin of the Mexican expedition. It had but one object—the recovery of sums due to France, and security for French citizens."

Now, this is the ground upon which the overthrow of Mexican independence, and of the Monroe doctrine, is justified. England and Spain, we are told, united with France to obtain redress for the grievances complained of. I admit it. But did they unite with France in making the independence of the country and the liberties of the people a forfeiture because *Juarez had no material means of honoring his signature, or did not mean to honor it?* England and Spain, on the contrary, renounced the alliance and turned their prows homeward when they ascertained the French Emperor's design was not to exact payment of a debt or indemnity for injury to his subjects, but to overthrow a republic with the liberties of a people. Neither England nor Spain understood, as the despatch from our State Department authorizes our Minister at Paris to declare to the French Minister of State "*we understood*," that this sudden and bold consummation of an enterprise begun under pretence of obtaining justice, but ending in conquering a nation, was simply the result of respect for the will of that nation. What can be more humbling to the pride of our country than to witness its Premier, through our highest functionary abroad, making the degrading declaration that his countrymen believe that the Mexican people invited and brought in the foreign master, while the very allies of France in the origin of the attempt turn their backs on it as soon as the real design of conquest was disclosed by Napoleon? Indeed, he himself had the frankness, when fairly embarked on its expedition, to despise such subterfuges and to avow his real purpose to the world, proclaiming through the press of Europe that his object was "*to give the ascendancy to the Latin race*" throughout the southern section of our continent. This was an appeal to all of French or Spanish lineage holding possessions in the regions washed by the Gulf of Mexico to join his standard. It was in the spirit of the design of the Holy Alliance, when the arbiter of thrones, after settling affairs in Europe, it proposed to re-establish its viceroyships, which the popular power on this continent had repudiated. The British Minister, Canning, saw in the restoration of European potentates on this continent a renewal of colonial bondage and commercial monopoly. The American President, Monroe, saw in it a war upon republican commonwealths which inevitably involved our own. Upon these considerations, the American and British Cabinets concurred that it was wise to confront the design of the Holy Alliance with the Monroe doctrine. It was this concurrence of the Anglo-Saxon governments, looking to the preservation of the free institutions on which they were founded, that arrested the steps of the Holy Allies tending to the re-establishment of the Latin race with its imperial absolutism in all the Gulf regions. Louis Napoleon renews the attempt, making the principal member of the Holy Alliance his colleague in the undertaking. Will the north of Europe—will England, especially—see with indifference this second marriage of France with Austria, meant to give the Bonaparte dynasty the mines and men, and the vast commercial material of Spanish-America to aggrandise its powers in Europe as well as America, and to render it more than it was under the first Emperor—the arbiter of both continents.

The present Emperor is ambitious to restore in his own person the reign of those great Caesars whose occasional advents, he assumes in his history, are essential to the progress of the human race. England, it is certain, did not contribute to build up the power of the last of them, nor as yet does she seem willing to assist the grand schemes of his successor. She would not countenance his Mexican conquest, nor listen to his repeated importunities to recognize the States late in rebellion against our Union—States he sought to cut off from our Republic and bring under his wing as consum-

mating his darling project of "*the Latin race ascendancy*" in all regions around the Gulf of Mexico. England will not favor it. She has too deep a stake in the Anglo-Saxon race and their free institutions. Is it not strange that an American statesman should be found willing to establish the colossal power of France and Austria in our midst—ready to carry out, on any opportune occasion of new sectional discontents, the cherished scheme of destroying our Union? It is certain, if the Latin race gains the ascendancy aimed at, it must absorb Central America and hold the isthmus and separate us from our Pacific States by the ocean route. Already, in advance, we see France planting colonies of rebel refugees, under the auspices of a California traitor, in Sonora, to rob us of our sister Republics of the far West; and the French Government has already carried a vote in the legislative body providing for transporting a new army of 10,000 men to effect these objects; and this immediately followed the concession of our State Department, which was read in the Chambers.

To take the French side in the Mexican contest in such a crisis as this, its originator a Bonaparte, avowing designs hostile to republican governments and directly subversive of our rights as a nation in the region around the Gulf of Mexico, is a daring course in one holding high station in our Government and looking to the highest. Does he expect to mount by appealing to the love of peace and dread of war with France? Does he expect to gain the support of the holders of the public debt, who may prefer to run up their stock by submission to France, rather than elevate the glory and preserve the free institutions of their country and of the continent by patriotic sacrifices? Cowardice, it should be remembered, invites oppression, because it falls an easy prey. Courage averts war, because it makes peace the interest of an enemy. Remember that the rebellion itself, suppressed without bloodshed by the courage of Andrew Jackson, was fostered into war by the cowardice of James Buchanan and his advisers.

Fortunately, we have at the head of our Government a man of courage, judgment and constancy—of patriotism—whom we may well hope neither the fear of France, nor the corruption of stockholders or jobbers, nor the blandishments of political aspirants, nor their party machinery, can swerve from the maintenance of the long-settled, well-approved policy of his country.

NOTE.—The proposition, out of which originated the Hampton Roads conferences between the President, with his Secretary, Seward, on one side, and Jeff. Davis' commissioners on the other, was made by my father on his mission to Richmond. Its purpose was to close our civil war, by inducing Davis to carry such of his followers as wished to withdraw from the impending overthrow which the approaching combination of Sherman's army with Grant's rendered inevitable, to Mexico, and there employ them in expelling the French and restoring the republic. Davis eagerly embraced this idea, but wanted an armistice between "*the two countries*." He was told by my father, that he had an armistice in the last annual message of Mr. Lincoln, in which he said, in effect, that 'if the Confederates would cease to fight him, he would not fight them.' On this understanding he sought an interview for his commissioners. It was granted, but its object defeated by his instructions to his representatives, Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, to insist on an armistice between "*the two countries*," notwithstanding the President's note of invitation prescribed as the condition of the interview, the admission that allegiance to "*Our One Common Country*" was the basis of it. The President's communication to Congress gave this true and simple aspect of the proceeding, thus ending the matter. Mr. Seward immediately wrote, and the next day published a letter to our Minister in England, in which he stated that the Confederates favored some "*extrinsic enterprise or plan*," and left the impression that the rejection of this was the cause of the failure to attain peace; and his confidential man's paper, "*The Press*," in printing the letter, explains this "*extrinsic plan*" to have been the seizure of the Canadas instead of the liberation of Mexico. The effect of this in France was immediately to induce the Emperor to offer his aid to England to defend her possessions, and to get up the most notable debate in Parliament on the question of arming and fortifying and defending Canada. Nothing was better calculated to increase the *entente cordiale* between France and England, and direct their united force against us, than

this false report: and the feeling against us was aroused still more by a letter of Mr. Seward to Mr. Wells, assuming, I have no doubt without authority, to direct our cruisers to insult the British flag by refusing the usual courtesy. John Bright, by a noble speech, exhibiting the true interest and feeling which animated the commonality of both England and the United States, arrested the ferment in Parliament: and Mr. White, another friend of our country in Parliament, who seems to have had information enabling him to confront and confound the false aspect given to the conferences at Hampton Roads by the commentary of Mr. Seward's official exponent in the *Press*, Mr. Forney, took the pains to unravel for us the mysteries which were hidden in our Secretary's ambiguous language about "*extrinsic enterprises*." As Mr. White's brief speech is full of instruction to us, as well as Europe, about THE MONROE DOCTRINE, I subjoin it:

"Mr. WHITE felt compelled, by the remarks of the hon. baronet the member for Ayr and his hon. friend the member for Horsham, to ask those gentlemen what they proposed to do for the defence of Canada, and whether they were prepared to sanction an amount of expenditure which would soon double the National Debt, obliging them meanwhile to forego all hope of the reduction of the malt duty ('Hear, hear' and laughter), and sending up the income-tax immediately to 1s. Every one acquainted with the geographical position of Canada and the extent of frontier to be defended would know that these things must be looked plainly in the face if England undertook to hold that country against a hostile attempt on the part of the Americans. The right hon. gentleman the member for Calne represented the opinion of every one whose opinion was worth having when he spoke of the utter impossibility of holding Canada without an expenditure of money and blood on the part of Great Britain which was fearful to contemplate. As to the alarm created by the recent conference between the Northern and Confederate Commissioners, and the correspondence between Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams, it would be sufficient to state that the proposal for joint action on the part of the present belligerents had reference to a suggestion that the French should be expelled from Mexico. Any one conversant with the tone of American politics would see that this was the most tempting bait which the Confederates, as they thought, could offer to the North. The right hon. member for Calne had mentioned the Monroe doctrine: he much wished he had explained its nature to the House. Everybody acquainted with English and American history knew that the doctrine in question was essentially of British origin, and had been suggested by Mr. Canning. France, having put down the constitutional principles which prevailed in Spain, entertained the notion of defraying herself for the expenses incurred in so doing by acquiring portions of the Spanish colonies in South America, and England, naturally indignant at conduct so detrimental to her interests, and with the aversion which Mr. Canning had ever shown from the principles of the Holy Alliance, induced President Monroe to enunciate the doctrine which had since become so famous. Lest an American authority upon this point might be received with some mistrust, he had referred to a work which was in the library of almost every gentleman, and from the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* took the following extract:—

"James Monroe succeed Madison in the Presidency, and retained it eight years (1817 to 1825). Towards the close of his administration (1823), in compliance with the suggestion of his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, he introduced into his Message to Congress—adverting to the purpose of the European allies of Spain to assist her in subduing her revolted colonies in Central and South America—the assertion of 'a principle in which the rights and interest of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.' * * * With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Congress took no action upon this, but the spirit of that body and of the nation was in favor of the Monroe doctrine. Lord Brougham, in referring to the President's declaration, stated that it had diffused joy over all free men in Europe; and Sir J. Mackintosh spoke of it in the following terms:—

"This wise Government, in grave but determined language, and with that reasonable but deliberate tone which becomes true courage, proclaims the principles of her policy and makes known the cases in which the care of her own safety will compel her to take up arms for the defence of other States. I have already observed its coincidence with the declarations of England, which indeed is perfect, if allowance be made for the deeper or at least more immediate interest in the independence of South America which near neighborhood gives to the United States. This coincidence of the two great English commonwealths—for so I delight to call them, and I heartily pray that they may be for ever united in the cause of justice and liberty—cannot be contemplated without the utmost pleasure by every enlightened citizen of the earth."

He trusted that the citation of such high authorities would dissipate the apprehensions which some seemed to entertain of the operation of the Monroe doctrine. With respect to Canada, England had not such vast interests in connexion with that country as with the United States. By the last returns of the Board of Trade he found that the total value of the British exports to the United States last year was 16,704,000*l.*, exceeding by 5,000,000*l.* the exports to Australia, and being twice as much as the exports to France, while the 150,000,000 of the Queen's subjects in India took only 3,000,000*l.* more. The trade which this country carried on with Canada and the whole of British North America did not amount in magnitude to one-third of the British trade carried on with the United States, under the influence of a high tariff and during the agonies of war. He might mention that the vast immigration pouring into the United States would really, in case of a conflict between England and America, impart to the struggle almost the character of a civil war. During the last seven years 3,152,794 foreigners arrived in the port of New York, and of that number 1,816,566 were natives of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. He considered that the tone and temper evinced by the hon. member for Horsham was quite satisfactory, as contrasted with the tone and temper evinced in a speech delivered in another place by a noble lord, who, they were taught to believe, was the hon. member's leader. The only consolation he derived from the speech delivered elsewhere was that the noble lord did not regard his advent to power as very probable, or he would not have ventured on such inflammatory language as would cause his advent to power to be regarded by the Americans as a declaration of war. ("Hear," and cries of "Oh, oh!")



THE REBELLION---WHERE THE GUILT LIES.

S P E E C H

OF THE

HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR,

DELIVERED AT

Clarksville, Howard County, Md., on August 26, 1865.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: It cannot be said that States or men loyal to the Union, that remained steadfast to it until vanquished by the superior force of a victorious usurpation which reduced all the civil and military authorities within the States to subserviency, became rebels by submission. Much less can it be said of such States or individuals, entitled by their allegiance to the General Government to its protection, but which were surrendered to that usurpation without a blow struck in their defence by it, became traitors by ceasing to resist when effectual resistance was no longer possible. Now, this was exactly the case of the loyal people of the South, a majority of whom were unquestionably loyal before the fall of Fort Sumter, but who found themselves at that moment absolutely at the mercy of the conspirators against the National Republic. This state of things was the result of the connivance of the Government of the United States with the traitors, who, by the aid of secret societies, had organized an overwhelming military force and secured by political intrigue the executive, legislative, and judicial power in the Slave States.

But mark, especially the part which the Federal authority exerted in establishing this usurping power in the South. The President of the United States, Buchanan, was their Executive. Every Cabinet officer appointed by him was of their dictation. They had a controlling majority in both branches of Congress. The Supreme Court was at their devotion. The head of the army, the venerable Lieutenant General Scott, stood alone, of all Buchanan's controlling functionaries, true to his country. Every other head of administration, with the exception of this time-worn patriot, contributed to betray the South into the hands of its enemies. The Senate and House of Representatives, in their debates, were converted into hot-beds of sedition to fire the Southern heart. The Supreme Court fulminated a decision, meant, like the Papal Bull which once consigned the newly-discovered continent to the yoke of Spain, to re-open all that part of it which had been freed by State constitution or territorial compacts to slavery again.

The President declared that if the Slave States seceded, as it was proclaimed by the Representatives in Congress, they would, if balked in their designs, that there was no power in the General Government to coerce them to submit to the Constitution and laws, and to defeat even the attempt at coercion. The army was sent under General Twiggs to the Indian border of Texas to be surrendered to the traitors there, and the navy was dispersed in all directions to the ends of the earth. This was the situation at the opening of the Congress which was to usher Mr. Lincoln into his severed government.

But in the interim between the meeting of Congress and the accession of Mr. Lincoln, the influential men in the Cabinet designated by him, and those playing their last cards in Buchanan's Cabinet, were busied in intrigue with conspirators who were setting up their power over the Slave States. Buchanan's Secretary of War was doing all he could to confirm it, by stripping the armories of the United States, surrendering the army and its arms, and handing over all the munitions of war and forts in his power to the enemy. Toucey did the same with everything in his power, by putting disaffected or imbecile officers in the navy yards and fortified naval places in the South, to make the conquest of them easy. Almost all were lost before Mr. Lincoln had time to organize his departments and look about him.

Meantime, Mr. Seward, as the designated Premier of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, still retaining his place in the Senate of the United States, took his part in the game—played for and against the Union—the contest, until war in the field broke out, being confined to the halls of Congress. Mr. Seward's policy then and since, and his motives, are still a mystery; but the result of his devious course was manifestly detrimental to the cause of the Union. In response to the leaders of the rebellion, on the floor of the Senate, and who in effect as the Executive power directed the conspiracy from its council chamber in caucus in Washington, Mr. Seward answered: "I have such faith in this republican system of ours that there is no political good which I desire that I am not content to seek through its peaceful forms of administration without invoking revolutionary action. If others shall invoke that form of action to oppose and overthrow Government, they shall not, as far as it depends on me, have the excuse that I obstinately left myself to be misunderstood. In such a case I can afford to meet prejudice with conciliation, exaction with concession which surrenders no principle, and violence with the right hand of peace." This declaration was justly construed to pledge him to sustain President Buchanan's programme, "not to coerce a State," and, therefore, not to resist the dissolution of the Union, the proclaimed purpose of the Senators and Representatives of the Slave States, who were about to leave their seats in the National Legislature, and call a Confederate Congress to assume all the power over the South, from which it was resolved that the Constitution of the United States should be banished. The first step (the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, in March, accomplished) after Mr. Seward was confirmed as Secretary of State by the Senate, brought John Forsyth, Martin J. Crawford, and A. B. Roman, "commissioners from the Confederate States," who, to use their own language, "*asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the government of the Union.*" This was on the 12th of March. This application was not answered until the 8th of April, although Mr. Seward's declination was prepared on the 15th of March; but a memorandum at the close of it adds: "*A delivery of the same, however, was delayed to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, as was understood, with their consent.*" In the interval, communication between Secretary Seward and the Confederate Commissioners was carried on by Judge Campbell of the Supreme Court of the United States, whose conversations with the Secretary of State were witnessed by Judge Nelson, also of the Supreme Court, who sanctioned the following note of the result given, on 15th of March, 1861, to Judge Crawford, for information to the Confederate States:

"I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days; and this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the Administration.

"I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States is at present contemplated.

"I feel an entire confidence that an answer to the communication of the Confederate Commissioners will be productive of evil, not good. I do not believe it ought now to be pressed."

Mr. Seward, it seems, made no direct reply to a letter of Judge Campbell referring to the pledges he communicated from him to the Confederate Commissioners, and stating to him that "*the pledge to evacuate Fort Sumter is less forcible than the words you employed. These words were, before this letter reaches you (a proposed letter by me to President Davis) - SUMTER WILL HAVE BEEN EVACUATED.*" Mr. Seward did, however, in an authorized statement made in the *Albany Evening Journal*, by Mr. Thurlow Weed, admit it. Weed says that "*Governor Seward, conversed freely with Judge Campbell we do not deny, nor do we doubt that in these conversations, at one period, he intimated that Fort Sumter would be evacuated. He certainly believed so, founding his opinion on his knowledge of General Scott's recommendation.*"

Now, this mode of escaping the responsibility of his assurance to Jeff. Davis that Sumter would be evacuated, is like that of Teucer skulking from danger by shooting his arrows under the cover of the shield of Ajax. It is well known that General Scott, before Buchanan sent his non-coercion message to Congress, and as soon as preparation for revolt in the South was seen, urged the President by letter to put all the forts in Charleston harbor in a state of defence. In this he evinced the alacrity that prompted him under Gen. Jackson's orders, when he brought Charleston and the rebellion into submission, by bringing the guns of the army and navy to bear upon that city when it hoisted the flag of nullification against the Union in 1832. Scott meant to crush the rebellion in the egg in this instance as in that; but Buchanan foiled it as his superior. When Mr. Lincoln came in, and his Premier undertook to quell the revolt by concession, Scott could only say, in the confidential letter he wrote when acquiescing under the superiority of the civil to the military power. "*Let our erring sisters depart in peace.*" Yet I am confident, from the patriotic course of the brave old man afterwards, that nothing could have induced him to acquiesce in Mr. Seward's course but the committals of Mr. Seward, who had ardently supported him for the Presidency against Mr. Pierce, and the persuasions that his diplomacy would bring all right after surrendering our flag, and with it the authority of our Government in the South, to that of the Confederacy. The dalliance of Mr. Seward with the Confederate and the convention committees from Virginia, up to the fall of Fort Sumter, was but a prolongation of the agreement made with Davis, by order of Buchanan, under the signatures of his Secretaries of War and of the Navy, that no act of war would take place on the part of the United States during his term. This gave the Confederate General Beauregard, an opportunity to build batteries under the guns of Fort Sumter, which could not have been done had not its cannon been muzzled by treaty stipulation. Mr. Seward's acquiescence in this state of things rendered the preparation for the attack more complete, while the forbearance to furnish provisions or reinforcements to the garrison, on our part, effectually made good Mr. Seward's pledge for its surrender.

It is apparent, from the whole course of public affairs, that Mr. Seward acted in concert with Buchanan's Administration during the last three months of its term. He was, no doubt, advised, through Mr. Stanton, who was in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, of the policy it had adopted in reference to the seizure of everything that appertained to the nation in the South. It was owing to the coalition then formed between Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton that the latter became Secretary of War to Mr. Lincoln. He apprised Mr. Seward of this treaty of the War and Navy Departments, under Buchanan, to make no resistance to the policy of dissolving the Union—to offer no co-

ercion to impede its march to independence—and Mr. Seward's course shows that he approved and adopted this policy. Is it not strange that Mr. Seward should have kept that paralysis on the country from the 4th of March to the 13th of April, when the conflagration of Sumter aroused the people? Did Mr. Seward partake of the feeling which prompted Mr. Chase, his colleague in the Treasury, to exclaim, "*Let the South go; it is not worth fighting for?*" Is it possible that these ambitious aspirants, who have shown such eagerness for the Presidency, are willing to sacrifice that vast, rich section of our Union to the petty object of personal aggrandizement?

Let me illustrate by example how the boldest Union men were paralyzed by the condition of things I have endeavored to portray. Judge Campbell, of Alabama, of whom I have spoken as transformed into a rebel commissioner, had been a devoted Union man. I knew of his heroic resistance to nullification. He had been the first man to breast the storm in Alabama in 1832, which threatened to bring on the rebellion then. I naturally looked to him to meet the new danger, and his feelings were unchanged, and he wrote and published earnest remonstrances against the secession movement. I begged him to go again before his people in person, as in 1832; he replied, that it would be of no use. His private letters which he read to me showed that the unsupported Union men were obliged to succumb before the organized and armed conspirators. The circumstances in the two eras, he said, were widely different. Then Jackson was here asserting the authority of the Government, and he felt that he could with such backing resist to some purpose, but no sensible man, however patriotic, could think so now.

Nor was it Southern Union men alone whose natural promptings to defend the Union were checked by the efforts of the existing and *prospective* authorities in Washington who were co-operating in this purpose. It was through these influences that the movements throughout the North for the *armed* defence of the Union were repressed, and the impression conveyed to the South that secession would be peaceful. Let me recall an instance. The Pennsylvania Legislature met in January, 1861, and a resolution was immediately presented, which, I believe, was unanimously adopted, declaring it to be the duty of the State authorities to raise, organize, and equip a military force for the defence of the Union. This movement was stopped from Washington, and among the means resorted to for the purpose, as I was informed by Speaker Pennington at the time, the Legislature were told by a distinguished member from Maryland, then believed to hold confidential relations with the incoming Premier, that Maryland would secede if the movement were persisted in. The movement was abandoned, and it was abandoned undoubtedly through his counsels and in reference to his position as the incoming Premier. Non-resistance was, we have seen, his publicly declared policy in the Senate as it was in the Cabinet. He agreed with Judge Campbell, the rebel commissioner, for the surrender of Fort Sumter, and when the President came to a different determination, he nevertheless made good his promise. He it was, undoubtedly, who gave the notice by the telegram sent through Mr. Harvey, then and still our Minister to Portugal, of the President's purpose to reinforce. But the succor never came. Mr. Seward got an order directly from the President withdrawing the Powhatan, the armed vessel assigned to the expedition by the Secretary of the Navy, without the knowledge of the Secretary, and without the President's knowing that the Powhatan was the vessel ordered to relieve Sumter. The men and provisions came, but not a sailor with them to put them in the fort, the Powhatan having been withdrawn. It was in deference to him that Gen.

Scott recommended the surrender of the fort—because the General during the previous Administration had wished to reinforce it, and had been refused permission to do so by Mr. Holt, then Secretary of War.

Mr. Holt, now the head of the Bureau of Military Justice, was then also a power in Washington. Whilst Secretary of War, as already stated, he refused to permit General Scott to reinforce Sumter, and he had, whilst Postmaster General, written and published a letter dated 30th November, 1860, justifying the rebellion. He says in that letter, the people of the North “have been taught that they are responsible for the domestic institutions of the South, and that they can be faithful to God only by being unfaithful to the compact they made with their fellow-men. Hence those liberty bills which degrade the statute books of some ten of the free States, and which are confessedly a *shameless* violation of the Federal Constitution in a point vital to her honor. We have here presented from year to year the humiliating spectacle of free and sovereign States, by a solemn act of legislation, *legalizing the theft of their neighbor's property*. I say THEFT, since it is not the less so because the subject of the despicable crime chances to be a slave, instead of a horse or a bale of goods.” After much to the same purport, he says: “I am still for the Union, because I have yet a *faint, hesitating hope* that the North will do justice to the South and save the Republic before the wreck is complete. But the action must be prompt. If the free States will sweep the liberty bills from their codes, propose a convention of the States, and offer guaranties which will afford the same repose and safety to Southern homes and property enjoyed by those at the North, the impending tragedy may yet be averted, *BUT NOT OTHERWISE*.” Simultaneously with his refusal to permit succor to Fort Sumter and his armistice with the rebel Secretary, he refused his sanction to a bill introduced into the Senate, by Mr. Preston King, to authorize the Union men in the South to organize themselves under the authority of the United States—refusing thus to allow them to defend themselves.

Mr. Stanton, now Secretary of War, then Attorney General, was in full sympathy with the leaders in Congress who dragged the South into rebellion. He met Senator Brown, of Mississippi, at the door of the Supreme Court as he passed from the hall of the Senate, after taking leave of it as a secessionist forever. He encouraged him; told him he was right; it was the only course to save the South; he must keep his constituents up to it, &c. This is proved by Mr. Brown, former Senator from Mississippi, who mentioned it at the time to the Hon. James S. Rollins, of Missouri. Mr. Saulsbury, Senator from Delaware, by a resolution offered to the Senate last winter, proposed to substantiate it before a committee of that body; but the committee was not granted. The fact is confirmed, too, by the known relations of the Secretary to parties at the time, and I have been assured by one of his colleagues in Buchanan's Cabinet that in his intercourse with his associates of that ilk he was most violent in denouncing any attempt to maintain the Union by force, and continued his denunciations till he entered Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

Is it not for this that he was so lauded and glorified by the Thad. Stevens party in the resolutions of the recent convention at Harrisburg, in which President Johnson is substantially pronounced an usurper for presuming to set up governments in the Southern States, instead of calling on Congress to take the subject in hand, to which they claim it belongs exclusively? They declare also that these States should not be allowed State governments, and their motive for claiming authority for Congress is evidently because they believe Congress would not sanction the organization of such governments. Mr. Stanton concurs with them, and has been and is yet aiding them effectively in their scheme. This ex-

plains the retention so long of a vast and unnecessary military force, and some of the remarkable movements made by portions of it, involving enormous expenditures, as I believe, against the wishes of the General-in-Chief and the remonstrances of the Secretary of the Treasury. Besides the corruption fund thus secured, it serves to bankrupt the Treasury, and thus compel the call of Congress, a great point in the game of his associates.

I revert to these facts to prove that the Government of the United States—the great functionaries entrusted with the administration—are responsible for the subjugation of the Southern people to the usurpation of the conspirators who plotted secession in the halls of Congress and in the caucuses they held in the Capitol. It was here, from year to year, that the scheme was plotted and the missives and emissaries were sent that got up the secret societies, that organized the military force under the Knights of the Golden Circle, and provided arms from the arsenals of the Union. The Federal Government, which, from the time that Jeff. Davis was Secretary of War, was in the hands of men secretly conspiring against the liberties of the North and South, was constantly used to give resurrection to the rebellion which General Jackson had suppressed. If Mr. Buchanan had allowed the orders to be revived and acted on, given by General Jackson to General Scott, and again recommended by the latter, the rebellion would have been strangled in its birth. No navy yard or fort would have been taken; no army surrendered; no arms provided. Instead of this, the Government of the United States, as I have shown, contributed the essential aid which enabled the conspirators to put down the unarmed people of the South and compel them to suffer conscription to fill their armies; impressment of every species of supply—horses, food, clothing, wagons, everything—to surrender every vestige of protection of law of their own States as well as the United States.

The scheme for the dissolution of the Union had been for more than thirty years brooding in Washington. It had its origin with the slave-holding autocrats, sickened with the inferiority to which their section and themselves were doomed by the servile institution, which inflamed at once their vanity and ambition. The politicians who gathered at Washington as the representatives of this class, constituted, as they thought, an order of nobility destined to put down the popular government which subjected them to an irksome dependence on the people. It was this Congress-bred gentility from the South, flushed with the triumph of their intrigues in bringing the Government under their control, that contrived, organized, and directed the conspiracy. Like all conspiracies which have led to civil wars, it was born and bred in the capital. Rome, London, Paris, through successive ages, have been the centres where the plots were laid which, on explosion, shook not only their home governments, but those of foreign nations. The great body of the people of the south had no hand in the concoction of the plot which has actually convulsed this country. They were as innocent as the people of the North, yet in every shape in which wretchedness can be visited, the South has been the victim. It was the highest constitutional duty of the Government of the United States to have warded off the blow which has prostrated this region. The arm was raised to strike in its very presence. The men in the capital, in both halls of Congress, the usurpers themselves, announced the fact that they had given orders that it should be struck. They formally took their leave of the Government whose authority they were about to prostrate in the devoted section they had resolved to rule or ruin; and they were told by the head of the Administration going out, "Go ahead, we will not 'coerce' the usurped State power you have contrived to get in your hands." The

Premier of the incoming Administration says, also, "Go ahead, we will confront your revolutionary movements with concession, violence with conciliation and the right-hand of fellowship." The fall of Sumter immediately followed this, the attempt to succor it being turned aside by the hand of the Premier, who had engaged that it should fall. What were the people of the South to infer from this?

An immense majority, some sixty or seventy thousand, of the people of Virginia had given their voice for the Government of their fathers. In those States farther south, where the Knights of the Golden Circle exerted all their secretly armed police to dragoon and drag the people to vote to throw off the Union and substitute the Confederacy, a majority of voters could no where be brought to sanction it. But when Sumter fell, what could individuals expect who were everywhere under the heel of the usurpers? Would the nation's Government defend them in any loyal effort? Mr. Buchanan, the head of the Government, said, "It had no right to do it," and Mr. Seward, the Premier of the new Administration, had said, *we will not succor nor defend even the strongholds of Government*—strongholds built to keep rebellion and usurpation in check. What could loyal men do under such circumstances but submit?

They were pressed into the army by conscription. If they fled from their homes and hid in morasses to escape, they were hunted down by bloodhounds, and put in the front of battle with the regulars of the Golden Circle in their rear. The property of everybody was a prey, and those only who professed the utmost zeal to the military power could hope to have any share in what belonged to them.

Is it not monstrous that our Government should hold a people, put in this predicament, if we may not say by its own acts, yet certainly by its supineness and acquiescence, responsible for the crimes of an usurpation thus put over them?

And yet the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens takes this stand for the Government of the United States in the resolutions which he recently got up at a convention to pass at Harrisburg. He thinks that as Pennsylvania elected Mr. Buchanan President, who devoted his administration to hatch the treason which has trodden down the great commonalty of our own race in the South, so it has elected him as an agent to complete their destruction and set up a foreign race to take their place in the National Commonwealth.

According to the programme of the Stevens resolutions, there are no loyal men in the South but the enfranchised blacks; the white man who succumbed to the usurpation and obeyed its behests—and this every man was compelled to do—is disfranchised as disloyal. In logical sequence from this state of facts, the National Legislature is to absorb all legislation, State and National, over the whole South. It is to assume absolute power over everything south of Mason and Dixon's line—and how is it to be exercised?

Mr. Stevens, forgetting that our Government was bound by the Constitution to protect the people of every State from all domestic violence and usurpation, as well as foreign invasion, and in failing to do it might be justly held to indemnify the loyal people who have suffered by the rebellion, has the hardihood to declare in his resolutions that the people of the South, *en masse*, confounding the innocent with the guilty, are bound, out of their substance, to pay the whole national debt incurred by the war. This is somewhat like tying a millstone round the neck of every man of the commonalty and throwing him into the ocean. It certainly overwhelms him in the flood from which he can hardly swim out with such a weight.

But this, it may be said, is only a life-long incumbrance of generations, rightfully imposed on the poor white posterity dwelling in slave States, to

expiate as the children the sins of their forefathers. But lest some men who have considerable substance in land or other estate that has survived the war may go to work and build up again an independence for themselves and their devoted country, Mr. Stevens has provided another sweeping resolution, which cuts down at one blow all such aspirations. The resolution is that confiscation, like our great reaping machines, shall be driven like a steam engine of our absolute Government—absolute over the South—and reduce all fortunes to \$10,000 value. It does not say whether the valuation is to be Confederate paper or greenbacks. But whether it be one or the other, the stubble-field will be little worth the gleaming when we shall have first extracted the war debt from the unhappy subjects of the rebellion. To get a Government sufficiently hardened to execute these decrees, Mr. Stevens appeals to the soldiers, and tells them that no man is ever to be nominated for any office unless he has served in the field. So they are to be the dispensers of all the spoils of the strip, the naked children. How little this veteran politician knows the magnanimous patriots who fought their battles for the liberal and merciful institutions of our country! They are the last men in the world to urge to cruelty in cold blood. These men when hungry took the bread out of their own haversacks and gave their cautions to their prostrate foes. Let them judge the South, and we are all brothers.

Mr. Stevens next promises the manufacturers unbounded protection if they will only help him to strip the South and reduce it to utter ruin. The manufacturers, so far from doing this, will lend it their capital, at least ere it, that they may cloth the South and enable it to produce fresh material for their operatives, and rich markets for the result of their successful industry. He appeals to the holders of the Government bonds, saying the plunder of the South is to pay their debt. They will reply, we will not kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

But who is to execute the Draconic decrees of Thaddeus and his omnipotent parliament? Who is to squeeze out the taxes from the desolated South to pay the whole war debt? Who is to carry out the sweeping confiscation throughout all rebeldom and divide the lands among the only loyal people of the South—the negroes?

The resolutions name the President as a proper sort of man; but he is plainly told that his scheme of restoring the Union will not do. It is too rose-water, milk-water, too lenient; and yet Mr. Stevens says the rebels reject it. But Thaddeus knows a man who can do the business, who can compile his dooms-day book of conquests and confiscations. Who could be better fitted for it than the man to whose prodigious energies and excellencies it would seem all our successes are to be ascribed? This man has a resolution of extollation in the platform all to himself, exalting him by name, in contrast with the poor cital made of the President, to make him like "Hyperion to a Satyr." The rest of the Cabinet are thrown in the lump, not named but as "the colleagues" of Mr. Stanton. They are worthy gentlemen that must pass.

Now this is not altogether an absurd distribution of parts in the Executive power, considering the work cut out for it by Mr. Stevens. He is radical from the foot to the crown of his head. He is a root-and-branch man, and could spare nothing of the Government but the body—the Congress—and that he would turn into a revolutionary club. He wants a revolution—he wants a Marat to work it up. Who can fill the function so well as Mr. Stanton? He wants a guillotine. He wants a Santerre, the butcher, to reign on its scaffold and ply its axe. Can any one doubt that Mr. Stanton would take this part? And if Mr. Stevens would add peculiar bitterness to the execution of the process of his revolutionary tribu-

nals in wasting the south and harrowing the feelings of its victims, could there be a better selection of an agent to pour gall into wounds than Mr. Stanton? I have already referred to his urging on the rebellion." He was the new member brought into the Cabinet, when Cass left on the ground that it would not "coerce"—especially that it voted Sumter should not be reinforced and defended, which he considered as giving aid to the rebellion, and resigned. Now, if this man, who was the prompter, the Cabinet adviser of the measures which contributed to carry the South out—if this man, who was appointed because of his full sympathy with Mr. Buchanan in his whole connection with the Southern chiefs who conducted its schemes touching the dissolution of the Union—if this man, who brought them into the treason for which they are to suffer, is to stand over them in mockery at the execution, it would certainly add bitterness even to the agony of death.

The measures the President has adopted to invite the people of the Southern States to resume their constitutional rights, now that the Government has at length discharged its duty in putting down the armed force which subjected them, proceed upon the facts I have recited, and the knowledge lie, in common with every intelligent man of the South, possesses, that the people were at all times ready to do their duty when the Government had performed the obligations imposed upon it by the Constitution.

We have also, in the abolishment of slavery, a sure bond for the future fidelity of all persons at the South to the Union. Whilst it is true that the hearts of the people were never alienated from the Government, it is equally true that, by the constitution of society there, the leaders were enabled to drag them into the rebellion. Slavery was the leverage by which this was effected. But that great implement of mischief, the source of so many woes, and to which the fathers of the Government looked with so much apprehension, is now forever gone.

The public judgment requires acquiescence in the thorough measure of universal emancipation as the condition of renewed participation in the Government. This proceeds upon the ground that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, and that until it is blotted out, and the people surrender it, there is danger of a renewal of the struggle. To this proposition I agree. But I ask of those with whom I have been associated in maintaining this proposition, that they should accept its logical consequences. With what justice or reason can we inflict further penalties upon the people of the South after we have eradicated what we agree was the *sole* cause of their errors, and obliterated an institution which alone distinguished them in their social condition from other American citizens. If this institution had been one of their own creating, there might, indeed, be some color of reason in pursuing them further; but when, instead of that being the case, history shows that it was forced upon them in the infancy of their settlements by the policy of foreign despots, against the most earnest protests of their forefathers, we must admit that they are blameless for the existence of the accursed thing in their midst. Neither by the Constitution nor by the rules of justice, having extirpated the cause and subdued the rebellion, can we do more. So far from it, indeed, the dictates of humanity require that the Government should do all in its power to heal the wounds which it has been necessary to inflict upon our brethren, who have become the victims of an institution forced upon them by the tyranny of European despots.

And this was the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, and he but reflected that of the American people. It is also the spirit of Andrew Johnson. He wears, indeed, a stern and more commanding aspect in his dealings with

the rebels, and has thereby more suddenly and completely humbled and subdued their fiery cavaliers. But, like his stern old hero neighbor of the Hermitage, in whose school he was educated, he is too brave to trample upon the vanquished; no one ever had a gentler heart in his bosom than Andrew Johnson, and yet no one was ever more fierce and defiant to those now humbled and defeated cavaliers in the days of their power and pride.

To the incontrovertible facts I have recited establishing the practicability and justice of adhering to the plain letter of the Constitution, there is no answer, but ambition backed by power will justify itself with very little regard for right or even of appearances. Richard, when he ordered Hastings to execution, showing his withered arm as evidence that he had bewitched him, did so to scoff at his victim; and the affected fears of the crushed South, assumed by the ambitious leaders of the North to justify the destruction of their political rights, sounds not unlike the mockery of Gloster. But the lust of dominion from which such actions spring is the most unreasoning, intolerant, and remorseless passion of the human bosom. It knows no Constitution, and does not listen to truth or justice. We will appeal in vain to the words of the Constitution to protect us in our rights to leaders phrenzied with the imperial idea of ruling the continent by holding one-half of it without responsibility to its people, requiring a military force to do so, which would make them masters of the whole. In vain we shall ask for justice to the Union men of the South from such men. They cannot forego their lofty aspirations to recognize the existence of any such class. You cannot have forgotten how fiercely my head was demanded when I ventured to assert the rights of the Union men of the South against this form of imperialism when broached in 1853. I had been from early manhood an opponent of slavery; I had assisted my brother in organizing the first and only victorious emancipation party which existed in the South prior to the rebellion; I was in favor of maintaining Fremont's proclamation; and, failing in that, I had recommended, in writing, President Lincoln to make one himself in his annual message of 1861. I had defended Lincoln's emancipation proclamation when it was made, in a speech, which Senator Sumner himself did me the honor to quote with approbation. I had lead in the emancipation movement in Maryland, and never faltered till its success was achieved. But, notwithstanding the furor about emancipation by those people, this early, earnest, and constant support of emancipation on my part did not satisfy them. So far from it, I was, I believe, the most odious man to them on the continent. No, there was one still more odious, one still better abused by Phillips, Chase, Davis & Co. I need not tell you that man was Abraham Lincoln, the author of the emancipation proclamation; and to such an extent had these men poisoned the minds of some of our true men against me, that I apprehended that my continuance in the Cabinet might affect the election, and therefore insisted upon withdrawing. Nor was it because I had done anything to make myself personally offensive. My only offence consisted in asserting the equal rights of my people; and you see they would not tolerate any Southern man in the Cabinet who stood for the rights of the Union men of the South under the Constitution. //

I have not referred to myself in this connection to give myself importance. I have done so because the example was required to illustrate the true spirit of those who seek in the guise of pre-eminent loyalists and transcendent emancipationists to annihilate the States and destroy the Constitution; and Mr. Raymond, the chairman of the committee by whom the resolution relating to the Cabinet was reported in the late National Convention, has publicly stated that the managers aimed thereby to give themselves authority for demanding my removal by the Presi-

dent. The people of the country may see in this that it is not Unionism and emancipation they seek—and it concerns the people of the whole country to mark it. They propose, indeed, to strike the South down first. The Union men then must suffer with the rebels for the misfortune of being born in the same region. Their most precious rights are to be wrenched from them, regardless of their devotion to the Union, through good and through evil report, for the crime of not being able to resist secession when enforced by color of State authority, sanctioned and acquiesced in by the National Government. Every one who raises his voice against this flagrant injustice is denounced as an ally of Copperheads and traitors. As it is proposed to treat all Southern men alike, it is necessary, to effect this purpose, that the people of the North should be taught to regard us all as criminals. All are in fact equally offenders in their eyes. It is the claim for themselves and their fellows of their rights as citizens which offends. It is the monopoly of power which is sought, and that design is equally frustrated by allowing the Southern States their rights, whether in the hands of Union men or rebels. All agree in discarding the shibboleth of the Imperialists. There are some, indeed, who give private assurances that they will work up to it by-and-by, and who, by joining in the clamor against the dead rebellion, are co-operating with the Imperialists in propagating the idea that the safety of the country requires the exclusion from Congress of representatives from the South, and thus contributing to fix the conviction upon the public mind that it is necessary to subvert the rule of the white man in the South before that region can be restored to a share in the Government. Swarms of hireling writers are sent over the South, who go there as the English tourists come to America, with a foregone conclusion against the country—most of them in the pay of the War Department, but of the non-combatant species, whose continuance in the service depends on making the impression that secession is not dead but sleepeth.

The Southern man who joins in continuing this clamor against the South is aiding in disfranchising the South, and *the whole South*, Maryland included. We may, indeed, have persons from Maryland filling seats, but those who reflect the feelings of our people will be without power. Those only who are elected as the member from the First District in the last Congress and one of our present Senators were elected will find favor with the Imperialists. That is, by the use of public money and military force directly applied. Let me give some particulars. A regular Commissary was removed from Baltimore last winter, as the Senatorial election was coming on, and a politician in the volunteer service, recommended for the position by Mr. Davis to the Secretary of War, because of his being an *anti Blair man*, was put in the place. This man and the Quartermaster assessed the merchants dealing with the Government heavily to raise money to be used in the election against me and my friends. The Quartermaster, I learn, raised \$40,000. How much the Commissary raised I do not know, but he has been heard to boast that it was by the money he raised that I was beaten. Some of the preliminary steps were taken openly by the Department. A number of the Senators elected by the people were arrested, and others threatened till compelled to resign, and their successors were elected by the same use of military power as the member from the First District had been in 1863. On that occasion the most earnest Union men in the district were arrested—such men as Col. Spencer, Jesse Hines, and others, who had boldly sustained Governor Hicks, whilst Mr. Creswell their senatorial nominee was openly denouncing him and demanding, by his resolutions adopted at Elkton, that our rebel Legislature should be called together, and pledging Maryland to go with the

South. Mr. Clayton, who was Mr. Creswell's nominee for Marshal lately, had blank warrants furnished him without limit, signed by Don Piatt, to arrest any man he should consider in the way of Creswell's election. It was proved, also, I understand, before a committee of the Legislature, that some time prior to this election Mr. Davis informed a gentleman on the Eastern Shore, believing him to be of his party, that all the necessary measures would be taken to carry the election; that the order had been prepared and printed by General Schenck, but that it would not do to publish it till within a few days before the election, because Blair would get Lincoln to revoke it, and this proved to be the fact. The order was revoked, but the revocation, as had been well calculated, did not reach the Eastern Shore in time. Members so chosen represent Mr. Stanton, not the people of Maryland, and serve but to delude our happier and freer neighbors as to our sentiments. It would be far better and more consistent with true dignity for us to share the absolute disfranchisement of the other Southern States, than to have our seats filled by the nominees of Mr. Stanton. And this brings me to consider a measure adopted by the Legislature, as eliminated, remodeled, and corrupted by the instruments of this man, which threatens to disturb the harmony of our people, and to plant rankling and bitterness in the hearts of neighbors. I allude to the law for the registration of voters. By the terms of that law three members of the dominant party constitute a tribunal in each election district, clothed with absolute power to disfranchise whom they please. Thus a penalty which has heretofore been inflicted only upon persons convicted of infamous crimes, after a fair and open trial by a court and jury, may be imposed by a secret inquisition. That multitudes of good citizens, against whom no one would dare publicly to make any dishonorable charge, will thus be branded as felons is most probable. Men who are earnest in a cause, even when disinterested, are apt to doubt the patriotism of zealous opponents. But when they have a selfish motive to heat their passions, toleration is almost impossible. But many of our registers are expectant candidates for the suffrages they are deciding upon. They are generally, too, the nominees of the county committees, who are made up for the most part of standing candidates of the party. Nothing but a strong public sentiment can prevent a partizan enforcement of such a law. I have been against it from the beginning for this reason. Exasperation against the rebellion affected most of those, who voted for it, but it was instigated, I fear, by partisanship. It bears the stamp of a disfranchising spirit which existed before the rebellion, the leaders in which taught the rebels how to organize in secret to carry elections against the public will. In my opinion there never was any justification for such a law, and certainly there is none now. The ostensible reason has passed with the rebellion, and the maxim that the law ought to cease with the reason for it applies in such a case undoubtedly.

Secession is not indigenous to Maryland. Calhoun had not a half a dozen friends in the State in 1832. If Governor Hicks had yielded, the State would have been forced into secession. I doubt not but it would have been recognized by the rebel Government then installed in Washington, of which as we have seen, Mr. Stanton was a most active and mischievous member. We have held on to our allegiance since, I religiously believe, against his wishes and constant efforts to drive us into rebellion, and we have emancipated the State, and thus got rid of the only question which could by possibility prevent us from being a prosperous and happy people. Why, then, should we continue on our statute-book an act to pronounce our political adversaries felons because of expressions and feelings which, though wrong, were not reduced to act? Observe how the conduct of those called rebel sympathizers in Maryland contrasts with the same people in

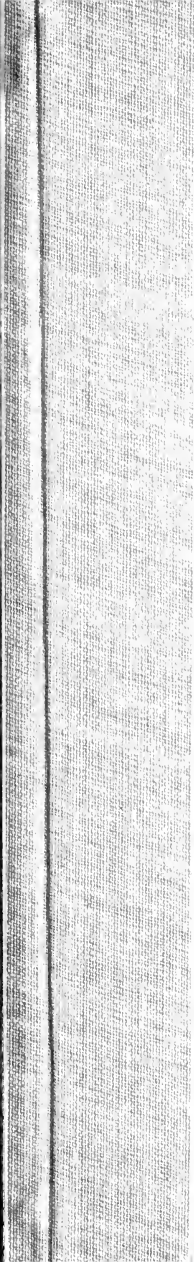
other border States. No Union man has been murdered here in his house, or his fields, although our lines run for hundreds of miles along the lines of Dixie, and the young men who have come and gone from amongst us—most of them driven away, I verily believe, by fear of arrest or passions consequent upon the arrest of friends—have not imitated the ferocity so frequently exhibited elsewhere before departing. This was not the temper of our people. Considering the amount of property sacrificed in the slave institution, and the feeling connected with it, nurtured through generations; and the harrying they have undergone, we may pardon something of angry expressions and feelings of resentment towards a Government which they thought bore so heavily upon them.

But I am told the law is on the statute-book, and the Executive and his appointees are bound to enforce it.

It is an embarrassing state of things certainly. But I am of the opinion myself that the act is unconstitutional. It inflicts infamous punishments without a trial, in a State where public order is not disturbed, and is retrospective in its operation.

Is it just to disfranchise Mr. Creswell and the friends who voted with him in pledging Maryland to the South by public resolutions at Elkton in 1861? Yet, if this law is to be enforced, he cannot vote. The war was then flagrant. The forts, arsenals, and other public property were being seized everywhere in the South, and such resolutions from such a place were most mischievous, and "gave comfort and aid to the enemy." But, notwithstanding this, I do not think Mr. Creswell or those who voted with him, all of whom I have no doubt were and are Union men, ought to be branded as felons and disfranchised, or can be, consistently with the Constitution of the United States.

The war is over. There is no slavery to make a new one. The passions connected with it are subsiding. We have a great career before us. Our struggle, bloody and expensive as it has been, will impart a new life to the country and new impetus to industry. Let us set the example of inaugurating an era of good feeling. If I have seemed, in the reflections I have made in this address upon the distinguished men I have named, to be animated by a different spirit, let me assure you I have animadverted on their acts only because they are the representative men of the unrelenting party in the country, and I want to show them that their heroes have also need of amnesty. I am willing they should have it. But, on the other hand, I should like Judge Campbell and Mr. Stephens, and others who have erred, to be forgiven—that our people should have real peace and a share in the Government their fathers founded and which they have to maintain. And I ask this, not out of any feeling that the section I was born in is more my country than any other. I ask it for the sake of the whole country, Free government cannot last long in either section with a practical dismemberment of the Union, or with the assertion by the General Government of greater power over any one State than the Constitution allows or than is claimed or would be tolerated in another. The military subjection of one section entails in the end arbitrary government upon both. Our Eagle must expand both its wings. Our National Republic must poise itself on both sections, if it would move safely on its glorious mission.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 785 728 5